

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 220736

FOLLOWING ISLAMABAD 9584 SENT ACTION STATE INFO KARACHI  
LAGORE NEW DELHI DACCA KABUL MOSCOW LONDON CINCPAC PEKING  
NOV 6 RPT TO YOU QTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 9584

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, BG, IN, CH, PK  
SUBJ: CHINESE AMBASSADOR'S VIEWS ON SUBCONTINENT

SUMMARY. CHINESE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED STRONG HOPE THAT  
BDG WOULD DROP DEMAND FOR TRIAL OF 195 PAK POWS. HE  
SAID SUCH STEP WOULD LEAD WAY TO GENERAL IMPROVEMENT  
OF RELATIONS AMONG COUNTRIES OF SUBCONTINENT, AS WELL  
AS TO BD'S ENTRY INTO UN AND ITS RECOGNITION BY CHINA.  
HE URGED THAT USG EXERT ITS INFLUENCE TOWARD ABANDON-  
MENT OF BD DEMAND FOR TRIALS. VOICING CONTINUED  
SUSPICION OF INDIA AS WELL AS USSR, CHINESE AMBASSA-  
DOR SAID PEKING WOULD WELCOME BETTER RELATIONS WITH  
INDIA WHICH COULD FOLLOW FROM IMPROVEMENT OF INDO-PAK  
RELATIONS AND NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF SINO-INDIAN BORDER  
DISPUTE. END SUMMARY.

1. I CALLED ON CHINESE AMBASSADOR CHANG AT MY INITIATIVE  
ON NOVEMBER 6 TO DISCUSS AN ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER  
RELATED TO SECRETARY'S DEPARTURE FROM ISLAMABAD FOR  
PEKING LATER THIS WEEK. DESPITE NUMEROUS FRIENDLY  
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ENCOUNTERS DURING PAST COUPLE OF YEARS AT PAKISTANI  
AND DIPLOMATIC FUNCTIONS, THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME THAT  
EITHER OF US HAD PUT FOOT IN THE OTHER'S EMBASSY. HIN  
A WAY I SUPPOSE IT IS A REFLECTION OF THE IMPROVING

RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, ALTHOUGH CHINESE HERE AT LEAST REMAIN CAUTIOUS ABOUT GETTING TOO CLOSE TO US. THIS PARTICULAR MEETING BEGAN BY CHANG'S EXPRESSING HIS PERSONAL REGRET AT MY IMMINENT DEPARTURE FROM PAKISTAN. HE SAID HE APPRECIATED FRIENDLY FEELINGS WHICH I HAD MANIFESTED TOWARD HIS COUNTRY AND REGRETTED I HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO VISIT PEKING DURING MY STAY HERE. I RESPONDED IN KIND, ASSURING HIM THAT MY PERSONAL WISH FOR BETTER AND CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN US AND CHINA WAS NOT ONLY THE WISH OF USG BUT ALSO OF THE GREAT MASS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AT THAT POINT WE WERE SERVED CHINESE TEA, DATES AND LICHEE NUTS.

2. AFTER WE HAD DISPOSED OF ADMINISTRATIVE MATTER RELATING TO SECRETARY'S TRIP, I ASKED HOW CHANG VIEWED PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SUBCONTINENT. HE SAID HE HOPED THE ON-GOING EXCHANGE OF PERSONS AMONG BD, INDIA AND PAKISTAN WOULD BE CONCLUDED WITHOUT HITCH OR DELAY. EXPRESSING HIS CONFIDENCE IN GOP'S GOOD FAITH IN CARRYING OUT DELHI AGREEMENT, CHANG COMPLAINED THAT GOI HAD SEEN FIT NOT TO BEGIN REPATRIATION OF POWS UNTIL AFTER THAT AGREEMENT ALTHOUGH IT WAS REQUIRED UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW AND UN RESOLUTIONS TO RETURN PRISONERS PROMPTLY AFTER 1971 HOSTILITIES ENDED. (HE NOTED THAT PRISONERS HAD BEEN REPATRIATED PROMPTLY AFTER END OF HOSTILITIES IN INDO-CHINA DESPITE BAD FEELINGS WHICH MAY HAVE EXISTED THERE.)

3. CHANG THEN TURNED TO THE UNRESOLVED QUESTION OF 195 PAK POWS IN INDIA WHOM BDG WISHES HELD FOR TRIAL. IN HIS VIEW, BDG HAD NO LEGAL BASIS FOR TRYING THOSE PRISONERS, AND INDEED THEIR RETURN WAS CALLED FOR BY "JUSTICE AND PRINCIPLE." CHANG INDICATED AGREEMENT WITH STANDARD PAK LINE THAT POWS HAD BEEN FIGHTING ON PAK TERRITORY UNDER ORDERS OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AND THUS COULD NOT BE PUT ON TRIAL BY ANOTHER GOVERNMENT; HE ALSO MENTIONED PRINIM BHUTTO'S PROMISE THAT RETURNED CONFIDENTIAL

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POWS COULD BE PUT ON TRIAL IN PAKISTAN IF THEY HAD COMMITTED ILLEGAL ACTS. ASKED FOR MY VIEW, I SAID THERE WOULD SEEM TO BE CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGES IF COUNTRIES OF SUBCONTINENT NOW DETERMINED TO LOOK AHEAD TO THEIR FUTURE RELATIONS AND NEEDS RATHER THAN CONTINUE TO LOOK BACKWARD TO TRAGIC EVENTS OF 1971; BUT APPARENTLY THERE WERE DEEP FEELINGS AND DOMESTIC COMPULSIONS WHICH HAD BEEN IMPELLING BDG TO INSIST ON THE TRIALS. CHANG SAID HE THOUGHT THERE WAS NOT NOW ANY GREAT POPULAR PRESSURE ON MUJIB RE TRIALS. IN HIS VIEW, BD STOOD ONLY TO GAIN BY GIVING UP THE TRIALS. NOT ONLY WOULD IT LEAD TO BETTER RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN BUT IT WOULD ALSO TEND TO LOOSEN THE STRONG HOLD WHICH INDIA AND USSR NOW

HAVE ON BD. HE WAS INCLINED TO AGREE WITH PAK FRIENDS WHO WERE OF OPINION THAT INDIA AND USSR DID NOT DESIRE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN BD AND PAKISTAN. CHANG QUOTED A CHINESE SAYING ("THOSE WHO WANT TO FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS DO NOT LIKE TO SEE THE WATERS BECOME CLEAR.") WHICH I DID NOT IMMEDIATELY RECALL AS HAVING SEEN IN A FORTUNE COOKIE.

4. CHANG JUSTIFIED PRC VETO LAST YEAR OF BD APPLICATION OF ADMISSION INTO UN AS CONSISTENT WITH CHINESE ADHERENCE TO "JUSTICE AND PRINCIPLE." HE CREDITED VETO WITH MAKING POSSIBLE DELHI AGREEMENT LAST AUGUST ON EXCHANGE OF PERSONS. ONCE THE 195 WERE RETURNED, CERTAIN POSITIVE THINGS WOULD FOLLOW. GOP HAD INDICATED IT WOULD RECOGNIZE BDG. AS FOR CHINA, CHANG SAID, IT WOULD LIFT ITS VETO ON UN ADMISSION AND HE WOULD SEE NO IMPEDIMENT TO PEKING'S RECOGNITION OF BDG. CHANG SUGGESTED THAT USG SHOULD DO WHAT IT COULD TO GET THE 195 RETURNED TO PAKISTAN. THIS WOULD MEET OUR COMMON INTEREST IN HELPING TO RELIEVE TENSIONS AND PROMOTE BETTER RELATIONS AND STABILITY AMONG NATIONS OF SUBCONTINENT. IT WOULD ALSO LESSEN POSSIBILITY THAT USSR COULD ACHIEVE ITS AIM (IN CHANG'S VIEW) OF ASSUMING CONTROLLING POSITION IN SUBCONTINENT. IN LATTER REGARD CHANGE RECALLED AGREEMENT REACHED BY USG AND PRC DURING PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO CHINA LAST YEAR THAT NO OUTSIDE POWER DHOULD ATTAIN HEGEMONY IN ASIA. I SAID I AGREED WITH OBJECTIVES CHANGE HAD EXPRESSED BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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THOUGHT PERHAPS HE WAS OVERESTIMATING AMERICAN ABILITY TO DETERMINE INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL DECISIONS SUCH AS ON THE PROBLEM OF THE 195. CHANGE REJOINED THAT US HAD GOOD RELATIONS WITH EACH OF THE THREE COUNTRIES OF SUBCONTINENT AND THUS WAS IN GOOD POSITION TO HELP RESOLVE THIS ISSUE. HAVING MADE MY POINT ON OUR LIMITATIONS, I DECIDED TO LET THIS MATTER DROP.

5. ON CHINESE RELATIONS WITH INDIA, CHANG SAID CHINA CONTINUED TO SUPPORT THE "FIVE PRINCIPLES" (PANCH SHILA) FIRST INCORPORATED IN SINO-INDIAN TREATY ON TIBET OF SOME 20 YEARS AGO. TROUBLE WAS THAT INDIA HAD NOT ACTED ON BASIS THESE PRINCIPLES. CHANG CITED INDIAN ACTIONS VIS-A-VIS PAKISTAN IN 1971 WHICH BELIED THE PINCIPLES. IF REPATRIATION OF ALL REPEAT ALL PAK POWS WAS EFFECTED, THAT COULD SIGNAL BEGINNING OF POSITIVE NEW TREND IN INDO-PAK AND ALSO SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. BUT THEN THERE WAS ALSO THE MATTER OF BORDER DISPUTE BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA. CHANG NOTED THAT POSITION ON THAT BORDER HAD ACTUALLY BEEN QUIET SINCE 1962 WAR, AND HE THOUGHT DISPUTE COULD BE SETTLED THROUGH NEGOTIATION. CHINA, HE SAID, WANTED AND WOULD

WELCOME GOOD RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

6. CHANG INTERSPERSED HIS REMARKS WITH NUMBER OF  
PEJORATIVE REFERENCES TO USSR AND ITS INTENTIONS IN THIS  
PART OF THE WORLD.

7. COMMENT: CHANGE MADE NO MAJOR NEW POINTS BUT TENDED  
RATHER TO CONFIRM OUR PREVIOUS UNDERSTANDING OF CHINESE  
POSITIONS. CHINESE FOR THEIR OWN REASONS REMAIN SUS-  
PICIOUS OF INDIA AND USSR AND, IN THIS REGARD, THEY  
FIND PAKISTAN'S VIEWS CONGENIAL. I AM NOT IN POSITION  
TO JUDGE VALIDITY OF CHANG'S STATEMENT THAT CHINA WANTS  
BETTER RELATIONS WITH INDIA BUT I WOULD GUESS THAT  
CHINESE ARE AT LEAST SINCERELY INTERESTED IN WANTING TO  
IMPROVE THEIR RELATIONS WITH BD AND WOULD WELCOME OPPOR-  
TUNITY TO DO SO.  
SOBER UNQUOTE RUSH

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